155
863
181

Comanche NO6
Hopi NT9
Navaho NT13
Kwoma OJ13
Alor OF5
Wogeo OJ27
Woleai OR21
Aymara SF5

[For comparative information on the relationship between toilet training and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 422.]

261
853
155
181
106
862
863

Comanche NO6
Navaho NT13
Hopi NT9
Kwoma OJ13
Woleai OR21
Wogeo OJ27
Samoa OU8
Tikopia OT11
Bali OF7
Buka ON6
New Ireland OM10
Southeast Salish NR19
Alor OF5
Aymara SF5
Chagga FN4
Yakut RV2

[For comparative information on the relationship between early feeding experiences and economic cooperation and competition, see 3: Cohen, SY1 Jamaica, Category 116, p. 420.]

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CONCLUSION

In treating of the historical background of the Comanche tribe the evidence for a recent Shoshonean derivation of the Comanches has been indicated. In the years since the time of the separation from other Shoshoneans, Comanche culture had undergone adaptive modifications to such an extent that Clark Wissler had dubbed the Comanches a "typical Plains Indian tribe."[1] If one views only the material culture of the tribe, this is true, for in their buffalo economy and nomadic life with the use of the horse for transportation, the Comanches were as any other Plains tribe. In their basic militarism they were conspicuously Plains, though they had not gone far enough to adopt a well-developed system of military societies (in which they are decidedly non-typical). Loose political organization is typical of the Plains area; yet the Comanches were more unpolitical than most. In religion the Comanches shared only to a very slight degree the colorful group ceremonialism of the Plains tribes, while the individual guardian spirit complex is as fully Shoshonean as it is Plains. It is not understatement to say that the Comanches represented Plains culture in its rudest form and that where it was most rude it was most Shoshonean.

Something of the historical trend of Comanche culture may be revealed by reference to the Shoshone base from which nineteenth century Comanche society had grown. This will be attempted for Shoshone-Comanche politico-legal practices.

Without expecting an absolute correlation of Comanche history to a linear trend, an approximation of the levels of Comanche development can be reasonably derived from the comparative presentation of the pertinent facts from the Western Shoshone, the Northern Shoshone, the Wind River Shoshone and the Comanche. Taken in order, the geographical spacing of the peoples mentioned is from the heart of the Basin-Plateau area towards and into the Plains. Culturally, the movement is from archaic Shoshone (Western) to Shoshone modified by Plains influence (Northern) to Plains with heavy Shoshone vestiges (Wind River) to "typical" Plains with submerged Shoshone vestiges (Comanche). In the same direction the trend has been specifically from small particularistic local groups founded on the bilateral family principle over to large, permanently organized bands within which bilateral family organization is present but unimportant; from an absence of "chiefs" over to institutionalized band peace chiefs. In military activity with all its implications the trend was from complete unwarlikeness over to exuberant militarism. In law the movement is seen to have

[1] Clark Wissler, *North American Indians of the Plains* (New York, 1927), p. 13.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

178 been from a neutral condition without institutionalized legal forms to the
●181 establishment of such mechanisms as have been described for the Comanche.
171 Comanche culture underwent dynamic development in a relatively short span of time, developing political and legal institutions of functional importance where scarcely any had existed before.

A tabular synopsis of the facts will make this clear.[2] See pp. 131–134.

The causal factor of greatest importance in the metamorphosis of the eastern Shoshone groups was the adaptation of social life to the horse complex. This provided a widened hunting range and the procurement of buffalo, with the result that larger aggregations of population could be supported in integrated units. The result was the band. Raids and military pressure from the plains provided example and defensive motivation for the simulation of the Plains war complex. Only the Comanches wholly succeeded in this. The Basin Shoshone suffered a defeatist psychology; they are sincerely grateful to the *Pax Americana*. To them personal bravery status was unimportant and there was no compulsion for a wronged party to save his face by demanding or taking restitution. Not so the Comanches, to whom ego satisfaction in competitive bravery struggles had become all-important. The military complex so colored all of tribal values that every man responded to the stimulus when wronged. From one point of view Comanche law was a struggle for preservation of status between individual males. Yet it was more than that, for in the institution of the champion-at-law, based though it is on the intermediary's desire to hold high his personal prestige, the Comanches had leaped ahead in a striving for an equitable defense weapon for the aggrieved weakling. This is justice.

[2] Data for the Western Shoshone are derived from the following sources: Julian Steward, *Basin-Plateau Aboriginal Sociopolitical Groups* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 120, 1938); *Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 33, 1933), pp. 230–250; *Linguistic Distributions and Political Groups of the Great Basin Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 39, 1937), pp. 625–634; Willard Park, *Shamanism in Western North America* (Evanston, 1938); and Others, *Tribal Distribution in the Great Basin* (American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938), pp. 622–628; Isabel T. Kelley, *Ethnography of the Surprise Valley Paiute* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 31, 1932), pp. 67–210; R. H. Lowie, *Notes on Shoshonean Ethnography* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 20, 1924), pp. 187–314; Jack Harris, unpublished data on the White Knife Shoshones; M. K. Opler, unpublished data on the Southern Utes, Data for the Northern Shoshone are from the field investigations of the author and F. Gore Hoebel, summarized in Appendix A of this memoir. Also, R. H. Lowie, *The Northern Shoshone* (American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, vol. 2, 1909), pp. 169–306; E. A. Hoebel, *Comanche and Hɨkandika Shoshone Relationship Systems* (American Anthropologist, vol. 41, 1939), pp. 440–457; *The Sun Dance of the Hɨkandika Shoshone* (American Anthropologist, vol. 37, 1935), pp. 570–581; *Bands and Distributions of the Eastern Shoshone* (with Verne Ray and Others, in *Tribal Distribution in Eastern Oregon and Adjacent Regions*, [American Anthropologist, vol. 40, 1938], pp. 384–415). Data on the Wind River Shoshone are from unpublished materials generously supplied by D. B. Shimkin.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6●
Northern Shoshone NR14.

N 224 625

number of active middle-aged men were chosen by the hunt leader to act as supervisors for the march and hunt. The Shoshone called these officers tánokoni, "those who surround." The personnel of the police changed from hunt to hunt, and in consequence, they did not form a military or dance society. Their functions were clearly defined, but their enforcing powers were limited. While the camps were on the march, they patrolled the cavalcade on all sides in an endeavor to prevent straggling and exposure to enemy attack. When the hunt was about to begin they attempted to hold back the over-anxious ones among the hunters. They gave orders to people and attempted to back up their commands by quirting the face of the rider's horse, "to shame the rider," but they did not strike people, nor could they confiscate or destroy the property of those who ignored their demands. They could encourage, exhort and exert pressure, but they could not apply force. There is no evidence of their having entered into the regulation of tribal matters other than the control of the march and the hunt. Shoshone policing was Plains policing in its most attenuated form, showing none of the governmental pregnancy which is found in the Cheyenne police organization, for example.[10]

C N- [illegible] 224 625

It is interesting that the Comanche, who had incipient military associations, had no buffalo police, while the Shoshone, who had no associations, organized police units for the hunt. That the development of policing powers for the duration of the hunt was not a necessity for the tribes on the southern plains is demonstrated by the Comanches, who succeeded quite well without them. But to the northern Shoshones, who faced the double hazard of attack by superior enemies and a possible inadequacy in numbers of available buffalo, the adaptation of the military police to their needs was of patent value. The patterns of limited authority, which were characteristic of the culture, laid their stamp upon the police organization, diluting it to a skeletal imitation of the institution as it existed on the Plains.

• C N 18

Northern Shoshone culture offers little in a positive way for the study of law and government. Its contribution to our knowledge rests mostly on the quasi-anarchistic picture it gives of organization of society on a very rude level of economic and social existence. In relation to the Comanche it throws into relief the background of Comanche amorphism in matters of political organization, at the same time indirectly indicating the dynamic inventiveness of the Comanches in the production of their mechanism of juridical settlements.

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[10] E. A. Hoebel, *Associations and the State in the Plains*, pp. 433–438.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

VIII

Cosmogony and Folk Beliefs

NO subject is more difficult to treat than one which deals with the beliefs of a people concerning abstract matters. It is not easy to learn from intimate associates their inmost religious ideas; it is obviously much more difficult to determine the beliefs of an alien race speaking an unfamiliar tongue and having a wholly different inheritance, training, and point of view.

The Comanches have often been designated as the skeptics or unbelievers of the plains. This conclusion has been based largely upon the fact that they had comparatively few well-established visible and externalized customs of religious meaning such as were found among other Plains Indians. Since their religion was largely individualistic, there was, as there is among our own people, great diversity of faith and feeling. They had no dogma and no professional priestly class to formulate a systematic religion.

It was not in the nature of the Comanche to be introspective. Nor was it in his nature reflectively to state his motives or ways of acting in formulae. The Comanche was oriented to see things as isolated episodes, not as a patterned unfolding of a great scheme.

We have already seen that the Comanche took the spirit beings with whom he had formal contact pretty much for granted. He hardly bothered at all to concern himself with the nature of the universe beyond them. It is to be expected, consequently, that the vague

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

threads of the people together, but now a youthful warrior was about to accomplish that."[11]

The Sun Dance, as it was worked out for the occasion by the Comanches, was a much simplified version of the elaborate complex that existed among the Cheyennes, Arapahos, and Kiowas. The Comanches had been interested spectators of Kiowa Sun Dances for some seventy-five years, and they had from time to time watched the Cheyenne spectacle in the years following the making of the peace in 1840. They were familiar enough with the external forms of the dance.

Certain features of the social structure that supported the Cheyenne and Kiowa dances were lacking in the cultural equipment of the Comanches, but this did not bother them. They were always a highly adaptable people and not in the least form-bound. If they had no military societies to police the camp and the dance, as did their neighbors, that was quite all right with them. They did not use police on the buffalo hunt—and they could do without them here. The fact that a little fetish doll was essential to the Kiowas in their form of the dance did not worry the Comanches, who had no such doll. They made no effort to procure a Sun Dance doll; they simply did without one. That the Cheyennes possessed trained Sun Dance priests, each of whom owned an inherited Sun Dance Medicine Bundle, without which no man could direct a Sun Dance, was of no moment. A respected shaman could direct the ceremony.

What was wanted was the Sun Dance—an invocation of the Great Power. The will and the general form of the dance would achieve the goal. Comanche thinking was running in the Comanche way.

The Comanche Sun Dance lodge had the traditional forked center pole surrounded by a circular wall of twelve upright posts, from each of which a streamer ran to the crotch of the center pole. The wall, with an opening between the two easternmost poles, was filled in with brush. Four ceremonial days were used to gather the materials and prepare the lodge.

The common Plains Indian practice of treating the tree that was to yield the center pole as though it were an enemy—i.e., "scouting" for it and counting coup upon it—was not done by the Comanches. They did, however, choose an honored, virtuous woman to do the

[11] Richardson, *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement*, 374.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

On the Reservation

Almost the only Comanches to become converts to the new Ghost Dance religion were the Wasps and a few on the northern edge of the reservation who were influenced by their northern neighbors. The rest remained indifferent. James Mooney attributes the refusal of the Comanches to accept the Ghost Dance religion to their "general skeptical temperament," to their "tribal pride against borrowing from others," to their carelessness in regard to ceremonial forms, and to their faith in their own mescal (peyote) rites.

That the Comanches were not inherently skeptical is shown by their earlier gullible acceptance of Coyote Droppings' pretensions. To say they had a tribal pride against borrowing from others is manifestly absurd. Although they never abandoned some of their Shoshonean orientations, most of that which typified their culture as Plains was borrowed, and Ralph Linton feels that of all the peoples he knows, the Comanches were one of the most adaptable.[30] The evidence set forth in this book certainly sustains his judgment. It is true that the Comanches were originally unceremonial; they cared no more for ritual form than they did for philosophical or political formality. But they were not averse to incorporating the ritualistic Beaver Ceremony into their culture, and at the end they were grasping for ritual to solidify the quicksands that were engulfing them. They had tried the Sun Dance, and by 1890 they were deeply committed to the Peyote cult—a highly ceremonial form of religion. It could not have been the ceremonial features of the Ghost Dance that repelled them. The fact is that they had been "immunized" to messiahs and salvation by miracle through their experience of 1874. That this is so, is indicated in the fact that the only group of Comanches who embraced the Ghost Dance as a unit were the Wasps, the one band that had gone home in 1874, refusing to participate in Coyote Droppings' Sun Dance. On one point Mooney was right. Peyote was meeting the Comanches' need with sufficient effectiveness to reinforce their immunization against the last, wild desperate appeal to a new messiah.

For many of the Comanches there would still be Christianity, and although the first missionary efforts among them had been begun by the Episcopalian J. B. Wicks in June, 1881, Christianity in 1890 was not a present hope for them.

[30] Personal communication from Linton to Hoebel, September 26, 1950.

4: Goldstein D-5 (ca. 1930)1934
NO6 Comanche NO6

ANTHROPOMETRY OF THE COMANCHES[1]

MARCUS S. GOLDSTEIN
Division of Physical Anthropology, U. S. National Museum

ONE TEXT FIGURE AND THREE PLATES

181
[161] The Comanches, numbering some 1956 individuals,[2] at present reside on and near a government reservation in south-central Oklahoma, for the most part leading a sedentary, half-hearted agricultural existence. They were in immediate pre-reservation times a true and the southermost plains tribe,[3] noted as daring and ruthless raiders, who followed and lived largely on the buffalo, their nomadic and depredatory range extending from the Platte River in Wyoming and Nebraska to Durango in central Mexico. As early as 1717 and probably earlier, Comanche encampments were to be found in New Mexico and western Texas (Chaves, '06). Mooney (1898), however, considered them on the bases of language and traditions a "comparatively recent offshoot from the Shoshoni of Wyoming" (p. 161).

144 Admixture of blood, especially with Mexicans, as well as with Indians of other tribes and some whites has taken place certainly since early historical times, and continues to the present day. Mixture with the negro seems to have been very rare throughout their history; in the present population only one Comanche with even suspected negro blood was noted. Mooney, as early as 1896, was impressed by the extent of blood mixture among the Comanches, feeling that "at least

[1] Grateful acknowledgment is extended to the American Association for the Advancement of Science for a grant-in-aid which made possible the securing of the data here reported.

[2] Rept. Comm. Indian Affairs, Washington, 1932, p. 45.

[3] Wissler, C., N. A. Indians of the Plains. N. Y., 1927, p. 13.

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[pp. 1-288 not processed]

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

They
533had some music, but their repertoire was limited even for savages. Noah Smithwick, who spent several months with the Comanches about 1837, states that it was customary for the first fellow who awoke in the morning to announce that fact in song; but he thought this was rather a "spontaneous outpouring akin to that of the feathered songsters than a religious rite."[30]

157 Notwithstanding their lack of culture the Comanches were not a dull people. In native ability their chiefs were a match for the keenest minds of the white men. Once in a council (the proceedings of which were carefully recorded by a secretary) President Sam Houston was trying to get the Comanches to agree to a line of division between the country of the Indians and that of their white neighbors. In the treaty the line was not being described as the Indians had been told it would be run. Buffalo Hump, a young Comanche chief, detected the discrepancy at once and a sharp argument between him and Houston followed. The dialogue is too long to be repeated, but one who reads it will be convinced that the chief knew exactly what he wanted and why he wanted it. He knew the topography of the country to perfection and also the settlements and roads. He clung persistently to his position and would not be moved from it.[31]

181 Notwithstanding their many savage vices the Comanches rated
577higher morally than other nomadic tribes. They were hospitable and would share their last morsel with their guests. In war they gave no quarter and asked none, but it was not their custom to apply slow torture to unfortunate enemies. Of course individuals differed widely. Among the Southern Comanches, chief Buffalo Hump was erratic and sometimes treacherous, but Mo-pe-cho-co-pe (Old Owl) was even tempered and altogether dependable. Robert S. Neighbors, long a Texas and United States Indian agent, knew the Old Owl for a number of years and in his reports quotes him again and again. There is nothing whatever to indicate that Neighbors ever lost confidence in the old savage or ever doubted his word.[32] There were, no doubt, many Comanches as honest as the Old Owl, but the

30. **The Evolution of a State**, 181.

31. "Minutes of a Grand Council held near the Falls of the Brazos, between the Republic of Texas and the Indians, commencing on Monday, October 7th, 1844, Ms. Texas Indian Papers.

32. For instance, see **Neighbors' report to Medill**, 30 Cong., 1st Session, Senate Executive Document No. 171, 16-25.

7: Richardson D-4 (no date) 1929
NO6 Comanche NO6

nomadic habits of the tribe and their loose political organization made it impossible for the honest Indians to control their less scrupulous brethren and the reputation of all suffered because of the acts of a few. Furthermore, after about the middle of the nineteenth century it was almost impossible for the plains Indians to live by honest means. The inroads of whites and eastern Indians resulted in the killing off of their game so that the nomadic savages had to either steal or starve. Naturally they chose to steal. Also, the Anglo-American frontiersman had little regard for the Indians' rights and a thousand acts of injustice prompted the most horrible retaliation on the part of the savages.

The Comanches loved tobacco, but eschewed liquor until the last days of the pre-reservation period. However, even in this respect they gradually yielded to the demoralizing influence of the stronger race and drunkenness was occasionally observed. The fascination which the vices of the whites had for the savages is illustrated by an anecdote Smithwick gives in his memoirs. With chief Muguara (who was later slain in the Council House fight at San Antonio) Smithwick had visited Bastrop and the two were about to return to the Comanche village. "Juaqua," said the old chief, addressing Smithwick by his Comanche name, "hadn't we better get a bottle of fool's water? We might meet hostile Indians on the road and it would make us brave."[33]

33. The Evolution of a State, 179.

[pp 74-end not processed]

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

[P.188]

[54]

A Brief Account of the Manners and Customs of the Camanche Indians

101 The Camanches are a wandering nation of Indians of whom there appears to be but little generally known. They consist of, as near as I could learn, two tribes, that speak the same language, and who, with several other tribes, with whom I did not become acquainted, inhabit the [131] extensive territory stretching from the northern boundary of Texas to the Rocky Mountains, and in the extent of which Nature seems generally to have adapted her supplies to the comparatively few wants of the children of the forest, who exist upon [134] her bounty. Indeed, one would suppose, that a tenth part of the toil they endure, in the long and 131 fatiguing marches they are almost continually making, rationally applied, with the facilities of the country they inhabit, would afford them four times the amount of the good things of this life that they now enjoy; but with such kind of estimates, they seem to have no concern. They are a hardy race, and endure the toil and privations, which their unsettled and wandering life exposes

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

them to, with a kind of stoic indifference. But they are not slow to profit by the labor of others beside themselves, whenever an opportunity offers; and it is truly astonishing to witness the pains and labor they will go through to obtain one; and when they have marked their victim, it would seem that nothing short of an interposing miracle of mercy could save him. They literally live by slaying and murdering all of man and beast that come in their way. There are [55] exceptions in the case of the traders who go among them, and who have learned to anticipate their wants, and to supply them; but woe to the unwary trader that offends them! He seldom, if ever, fails to pay the forfeit with his life. They are trained, from infancy to age, to deeds of cruelty and bloodshed, and are as wholly wreckless of human rights, out of their own circle, as though they held in their own hands the destinies of the universe; and they appear to be alike insensible of obligation to any being in heaven or on earth. I could not, from all the observation of which I was capable, discover that they had any idea of a Supreme Being; nor could I learn that they paid their devotion to any kind of being, unless something of the kind might be obscurely inferred from the following circumstance: In a storm, with thunder and lightning, I have frequently seen them go out and throw dirt into the air, and utter unintelligible sounds; but whether it was designed to express their resentment to, or

10:Horn T-3 (1836-1837) 1955
NO6 Comanche NO6

771 conciliate the favor of, the Author of the war of
789 elements, I could not determine. Another circumstance induced me to think they might have some
775 notions of a future state. There was a young woman
764 among them, who certainly possessed some traits of character more amiable by far than the most of her race with whom I was acquainted; she sickened and died, when their grief, as usual, was unbounded. I observed to one of the females, that I hoped she was better off than when here; – she smiled, and pointed upwards. The strength of their
181 attachment to each other, and the demonstration they give of the same, even to the dividing of the last morsel with each other upon the point of starvation, might put many professed christians to the blush! But they are just the reverse of all this to
[186] all the world beside. They think themselves the cleverest race of men on earth, and treat all others as infinitely inferior to themselves. They have no
582 formal marriages among them. They generally
[575] take wives at an early age. Each man is allowed to take five women; but, in making his selection, the ties of consanguinity oppose no barrier; hence they are truly a consanguineous race of so motley a mixture, that it would be impossible to identify
593 the connexions. The distinction, however, [56]
[837] might be less obscure, but for the fact, that with them matrimonial alliances oppose no restraint
[562] to promiscuous intercourse. The relation of the women to the men differs little from a state of the

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out
[178] by fasting and dreaming in secluded places. This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and
657 children by count, as early as 1875, the first formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

121 descriptive terms for introduced articles,
177 such as the *beaver hat*, *cauldron*, or types of
192 blankets, which are no longer in general use, although the names for them are retained in the vocabulary.

121 Modes of perception as these may be dictated by language and may also be revealed in new descriptive words.[159] The Comanche
121 characteristically describe many new traits,
192 particularly implements and machines, in dynamic, functional terms rather than static ones of color, size and shape. One is
121 tempted to speculate whether this may be
181 correlated with Comanche personality as described by Kardiner who comments upon, "the emphasis on activity itself",[160] and notes their capacity to deal skillfully, assertively and self-confidently with the world.

121 Attitudes toward new traits, and temperamental or other psychological characteristics
192 may also be reflected. The words for *whiskey* and *prostitute* both use the word, po?sa, which, while translated *crazy*, connotes generally deviant behavior.[160a] From the contexts in which it appears, ?esi-, literally *grey*, also has broader connotations of being nondescript, drab, or unseemly. It is significantly used in the word for captive, ?esinï·mI (nï·mI *person*).

The word for White man, taivo·?, is used in the sense of *alien* to apply also to the products of white culture and to other races of men. The use of ca- *fine* or *good* in describing silk and gems indicates that these things are highly valued. The word for *rice* (*worm* or *maggot food*), may reveal a

[113] [159] See Benjamin L. Whorf, Four Articles on Metalinguistics, Foreign Service Institute, Dept. of State, (Washington, D. C.; 1950); also D. D. Lee, A Primitive System of Values, Philosophy of Science 7: 355-365 (1940) and The Linguistic Aspects of Wintu·' Acculturation, AA 45: 435-440, especially, pp. 437-39, (1943).

[113] [160] Abram Kardiner, The Psychological Frontiers of Society, p. 94, (Columbia University Press; New York, 1945).

[113] [160a] The Blackfoot word for crazy is similarly employed. See L. M. Hawks, Jr., A Psychological Exploration in the Blackfoot Language, IJAL 20.195-205 (1954).

[p. 255-B]

13: Simmons H-4 (no date) 1967 N06 Comanche N06
(1785-1819) New Mexico

Introduction

OVER three quarters of a century after their final defeat on the plains of Texas, the Comanches continue to excite the interest and imagination of Western history students. This may be attributed, at least in part, to the Comanches' ferocity in battle and to their superb horsemanship, for which they were justly famous. "To fight and ride like a Comanche," was a popular saying on the frontier. But the fame of these Indians, among those who knew them at the height of their glory, rested also on the fact that Comanches were generally regarded as possessing qualities superior to those of other nomadic tribes.

In the late eighteenth century, the Spaniards of New Mexico who had been victims of Comanche raids for decades cultivated an alliance with the tribe against the common Apache foe. The Comanche's fighting abilities and his habit of keeping agreements convinced the Spanish authorities of the usefulness of establishing a permanent peace.

The distinguished colonial citizen, Pedro Bautista Pino, reported of the Comanches in 1812, that "they fulfill with the greatest care all the conditions of treaties; so that we also try to observe all stipulations therein in order not to offend them." Then he added that the Spaniards viewed these people as graceful in appearance, modest in dress and air, industrious, and in general possessing other commendable traits.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dred Comanches were in military service. The people were proud of their young warriors and showered them with honors remarkably like the treatment accorded the warriors when they were the lords of the Southern Plains.

The love of pageantry creates a problem. The business-like course of white life deprives the Comanches of more of it than they like. This characteristic of the people is apparent at the annual Indian Exposition at Anadarko, a commercial show sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce. The performance has little historical accuracy, but this does not offend the Indians. They are more concerned with the spirit of display than about historical authenticity. They will bankrupt themselves to get there, and then wear an unheard of costume with self-satisfaction. Any special occasion, as Christmas and July 4, affords opportunity for pageantry. Departing and returning warriors of World War II were honored with feasts, parades, and variations of the old-time war and victory dances.

The Comanches have always gotten a great deal of pleasure from social contacts. Today they tend to indulge in this type of pleasure at the expense of their work and obligations. Council meetings, ceremonies, and family consultations once brought the people together, but now decisions are made individually with white officials. The peyote ceremony was, in part, an attempt to satisfy the social urge.

At the close of a full life-span of time since they were compelled to give up their nomadic life, a few Comanches still sit and dream of past glories and of an untrammeled people who dwelt in an unmeasured wilderness. In retrospect they see once more the trooping warriors as they gallop toward the fray and hear their defiant whoops. They sit in the charmed circle of counsellors of the tribe. Of reservations and agents, of farms and towns, of railways and other innovations they grow forgetful. There will be some who will continue to dream until the end of life.

On the other hand, the Comanches as a group have long since ceased to roam, to strive for the old, or to dream.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1951 NO6 Comanche 36
Texas

(ca. 1818)

detailed account of those tribes with whom my adventures in this delightful country have made me familiar. If the results of my observations can contribute to your amusement, or aid your laudable endeavours to acquire information concerning the wide-spread sons of the forest, I shall be amply remunerated for the trouble of imparting them to you.

The Comanchees are the most numerous, and therefore the most important nation of Indians inhabiting this Province, and with them I am more intimately acquainted than with any of the other tribes. I shall give them priority of notice.

Let the long suspended destiny of this most valuable province eventuate as it may: whether it shall continue to languish under the wretched and paralising policy of Spain, or shall be received under the benign guardianship of our own country, the aboriginal inhabitants of it are worthy to be better known and more considered than they now are. If they are too far removed from *home*, the starting place and often the goal of charity, to merit attention for the beneficent purposes of amelioration, they nevertheless present sufficient claims to occasional observance on grounds of an exclusive political nature. The Comanchees more particularly, owing to their proximity to the frontiers of the Arkansas Territory, and to their forward and unrestrained habits of rapine, appear, in prospective at least, to sustain some interesting relations to our country. It would not be altogether visionary to predict, that in the course of a few years, these obscure and unnoticed savages will evince their claims to our attention by the massacres and devastations of a border warfare. It is true, they now are, and heretofore have been, peaceably disposed towards us. They find the mules and horses of their ancient enemies, the provincial Spaniards, a more alluring quarry, than is presented by the scattered and humble hamlets of an American frontier. It is true, they are apprized of the difference between the American and the Spanish character; they dread the active energy of the one, as they despise the pusillanimity of the other. Had we a dense and populous front to present them,

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

175 721 they would be in no wise dangerous. But how inadequate is an infant, dispersed, and unorganized settlement, to repel the sudden incursions of an enemy who move with unequalled celerity, and almost inscrutable caution: who traverse the pathless wilderness by day, and pounce on their 175 648 devoted victims in the unguarded hour of midnight. The national faith and friendships of savages are proverbially treacherous, and are always subordinate to their own weak conceptions of interest, or the more imperative suggestions 175 of fear. The hope of spoil for the most part constitutes their *prium mobile* to hostilities: but they are sometimes capable 721 of adventuring the hazards of battle for the single purpose of revenging real or imaginary injuries.

175 101 The Comanchees or I-etans as they are sometimes called, are one among a very few of the primitive nations of Spanish America, who have preserved their pristine independence. To what cause this singularity is attributable, it is difficult {173} to determine. Their oral history is extremely limited and imperfect, and they appear to retain no recollections of a period when their political condition was materially dif- 175 ferent from what it now is. Of their origin they know 173 nothing. A regular tradition or national legend, seems never to have entered into the policy of these erratic sons 175 of the forest. Careless of the future, they are indifferent 181 to the benefits that accrue from the recollections of the past. The revolving day imbodies all their concerns. Their 175 songs, which are few and of little variation, however ancient 533 they may be, are rather didactic than historical, and are calculated to fire the warriors zeal, or to give solemnity to 175 funeral lamentations. It is however, presumable, that their wandering mode of life and the remoteness and seclusion 101 of the country through which they have ranged time imme- 171 morial, have mainly contributed to perpetuate both the identity and the independence of a tribe, whose numbers 721 and capacities for war, are far inferior to others of their proscribed race, that have become almost or quite extinct, by the deleterious spread of a corrupt and unsocial civilization.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818- 19) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(c. 1818)

By comparison with the several minor hordes that are located in the province of Texas, the Comanchees are certainly a very considerable nation. But much is abstracted from their political importance, by their habitual indolence, and their utter unfitness for any thing like serious and protracted warfare. I speak relatively, and under the presumption that they are to be seriously and perseveringly opposed. Without, however, making any moral abatements, they will fall considerably short of the opinion that has obtained in your quarter, as to their actual strength. The idea has been frequently propagated that they can furnish from 12 to 20,000 warriors, and those too of no ordinary prowess.

I do not conceive it necessary to inculcate exaggerated notions of their aggregate strength, or individual bravery, in order to make out their pretensions to the notice of at least the territorial government of Arkansas. Estimate them as they really are, and they may be found sufficiently formidable to excite alarm in a feeble and unprotected frontier; and no portion of our country has partaken less of the parental kindness of the federal administration, than that which is most immediately exposed to their depredations. The following will be found as correct a statement of their numbers and general character as a close observation during a residence among them for several months, has enabled me to obtain.

The tribe known among us by the term Comanchees, is divided into three great parties, each of which is distinguished by a separate appellation, to wit:

Comanchees, Yamparacks, and Tenaways.*

The Comanchees, the lower or most southern party, range through a section of country that is watered by the Colorado or Red river of Texas, embracing in their circuits both sides of the river, from its headwaters to the confluence

*There were at this time at least half a dozen Comanche divisions. It is well to remember that Burnet had direct acquaintance with relatively few Comanches and his means of learning about the others was limited.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 N06 Comanche N06
Texas

175 (ca. 1818)
721 regress of small parties from 5 to 50 in number, whose sole object is inglorious predation, and who cautiously avoid all renconters with the enemy, except with the menial herdsmen who attend the droves of the wealthy planters.

[171] Although habitually savage and estranged from the humanizing influence of civilization, the Comanchee war-
[181] riors are not so wantonly barbarous and sanguinary as many of the primitive nations of our continent. It is true, they
175 seldom give quarter to the Spanish soldiers, and it is equally
726 true, that they seldom receive any from them. It has been alleged too, that they massacre women and children. The charge is not true as to general practice, but there may be some isolated exceptions, growing out of pressing emergency
175 or some extraordinary excitement. When reproved on this
721 awful subject, these undisciplined warriors justify their deeds of horror, as more enlightened nations have attempted to justify theirs, by the law of retaliation: and I suspect that a strict investigation would evince but little disparity in the inhumanities that are reciprocally practiced by these savage and semi-savage belligerents.

175 The Comanchees are always at war with the Osages and
721 Pawnees. A formal declaration has perhaps never tran-
648 spired, but whenever they meet, hostilities ensue. Frequent and sometimes sanguinary recontres happen between them,
175 the Osages and Pawnees being in general the aggressors. In
721 the fall of the year these tribes abandon their villages, and lead a wandering life, ostensibly for the purpose of hunting. They often roam as far as the Comanchee region, professedly in quest of Buffalo, but in reality to "spoil the spoiler of his prey," in which they frequently succeed so far as to return well mounted, although they always leave home on foot. The Comanchees sometimes retaliate upon them by carrying the war into their country; but having little to gain by these excursions, they are unfrequent. Simple bootless war, has few attractions for a people who have neither poets nor historians to perpetuate the fame of their achievements.

175
152 Strong attachment to kindred is a prominent feature in

22: Dacus Q-3 (no date) 1960 NO6 Comanche NO6
(ca. 1870)

[ca. 1870]

he was carried into the white man's country and that they gave him to a great monster, with wings, that lived upon the mighty waters at the place where the sun rises, and it had flown away with him. This was a long time ago. 'Our people think white men bad medicine.'"

The Comanches believe in a Supreme Being, and in many minor deities —that is, in the manifestation of a supernatural power in the operations of nature. Their religious ideas, if such a term may be allowed, are of the vaguest character. They bury their dead, with great secrecy, and place in their graves weapons and food. They believe in the immortality of man, and picture a fair paradise beyond the boundary of time. They have few ceremonies of a religious character. For the dead, they offer prayers at the rise of the sun. With their faces turned toward the rising orb of day, over the graves of their departed friends, they set up a howl sufficient to strike terror to the heart of one unaccustomed to hear them. They are not a happy people. Like all aborigines, they are grave, taciturn and moody.

539 [829] 771 [776] 764 775 796 765 181

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Lyon's Kathairon

For Preserving and Beautifying the Human Hair, to Prevent Its Falling Out and Turning Gray.

A well preserved Head of Hair, in a person of middle age, at once bespeaks refinement, elegance, health and beauty. It may truly be called Woman's Crowning Glory, while men are Not insensible to its advantages and charms. Few things are more disgusting than thin, frizzly, harsh, untamed Hair, with head and coat covered with dandruff. Visit a barber and you feel and look like a new man. This is what LYON'S KATHAIRON will do all the time. The charm which lies in well placed Hair, Glossy Curls, Luxuriant Tresses, and a Clean Head, is noticeable and irresistible.

Missouri Republican, *November 8, 1872*

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

(ca. 1786)

nor of Texas a number of questions about this tribe. A translation of Governor's Cabello's reply follows:

Domingo Cabello: "Answers that the Governor of the Province of Texas Gave to the Questions that the Señor Commandant-General of the Interior [Provinces] asked in a letter dated January 27, 1786, about various circumstances of the Eastern Comanche Indians," April 30, 1786, Bexar Archives.

FIRST: About Their Customs.

According to what is known about this Nation, it is the most brave and warlike of those [tribes] that inhabit the North; and when they have friendship they are very friendly and of a generous mood, and friends of their friends, although delicate in the mode with which they make friendship. They adore very much the skins of animals which they customarily bring with them, and which they fasten on themselves during the encounters of war, so that they will not be killed or wounded in any manner; and if any misfortune befall them, they attribute it to having given some offense to this specie of idol, such as not having offered it food or the smoke (*humo*) of tobacco each time they smoke (*fuman*), or that women have defiled the ceremonies which they make use of when they take the pipe in hand. Some devote themselves in this manner to adoring a buffalo hide, others to that of the bear, others to the otter, and others to that of some birds, whose skin, still with its feathers, they use to adorn themselves. Their marriages they celebrate with as many women as they are able to maintain; if someone distinguishes himself in bravery and in actions made against his enemies, or something of a similar nature, some fathers give him even of their daughters, and it is the custom many times for him to marry with the sisters [of his wife]; husbands maintain their women with the buffalo and deer which they hunt; [the women] are obliged to work the meat and [prepare] the hides of the said animals. [The husbands] are so extremely jealous that for very trifling motives they kill their women; furthermore, when these mild ones give occasion for it, the husbands treat them with much blindness and harshness, as if they were slaves.

23: Cabello y Robles G-3 (1778-1786) 1961
NO6 Comanche NO6
Eastern Comanche

[ca. 1786]
aforesaid chiefs has been by election and vote of all the Eastern Nation; [the two chiefs] having [already] made themselves very distinguished in the encounters of war with their enemies, by which they gained the esteem of all their Nation and the following which they have; in the councils that they hold, always their vote decides, and the rest of the Nation does not oppose them.

EIGHTH: What Is the Personal Character of These Chiefs and the Influence That They Have, and Are Able to Have in the Negotiations of the Nation?

As the two great captains previously mentioned have not come to this presidio of San Antonio de Béxar, the governor has not been able to learn their character, but if the experiences of the six lesser captains that have come to the ratification of the peace treaties [are a basis for judging], they are of a generous spirit and have manifested more friendliness to the Spaniards than the captains of the other friendly Nations of the North. It has been observed that the retinue of the chiefs [of the Nations of the North] look at the [Comanche] chiefs with more respect and give them more subordination than they do their own chiefs.

With respect to the rest of the observations that the governor has made of this nation, he has come to understand that it is necessary to treat them with much friendliness and consistency, for they are, in short, of a very sensitive nature and do not accommodate themselves to any harshness. Without compromising the dignity of his office, it is indispensible [that the governor] manifest toward them all love, and make them believe in the governor, for them to behave satisfactorily toward [the Spaniards]; for if they begin to lack confidence, they take many precautions and manifest their vexation; in virtue of which it is necessary that a governor of the Province of Texas, whom they call Father, have the gravest finesse and precautions in dealing with the said Indians, in order to keep them always

24: Richardson H-4 (no date (1854-1859) 1929 NO6 Comanche NO6 Texas

that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organization. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civilization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 402.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 NO6 Comanche NO6

Out of apparent weakness emerged the wildest marauding brigandage. The Comanches whipped and drove the Apaches from the southern Plains. They stalemated the Spanish. They decimated the pueblo of Pecos. They ranged far below the Rio Grande on slave- and booty-taking raids into Old Mexico. They blocked the westward expansion of the Texas frontier for several decades. They became "The Spartans of the Prairies." They were rough, tough, aggressive and militant individualists. They gave trouble to all their enemies and to themselves. And in their way, out of the nothingness of Shoshone legal backgrounds they shaped a crude but effective system of law to cope with the clashes of individual with individual within their ranks.

. . .

The basic postulates of the Comanche way of life are simple and few. They express a strong individualism and man-to-man aggressiveness in the following terms:

Postulate I. The individual is supreme in all things.

Postulate II. The self of the male is realized in striving for accumulated war honors, horses, and women.

Postulate III. Women are sexually and economically desirable but are inferior and subordinate to men.

Corollary 1. The sex rights of a husband to his wife are limited to himself and his brothers.

Postulate IV. The strongest social tie is that of brother to brother.

Postulate V. Sexual relations between kin (incest) constitutes subhuman behavior.

Postulate VI. War is essential to the prosperity of the tribe and the individual self-expression of the male.

Postulate VII. The great spirits (Sun and Earth) have powers of "legal" judgment.

Postulate VIII. Each Comanche ought to cooperate with others and help them in their life's activities.

Corollary 1. Altruism and sharing of goods is socially desirable.

Corollary 2. The killing of a fellow tribesman is not permissible.

Postulate IX. Horses, especially favorite horses, have quasi-human personalities.

The simple needs of Comanche society did not impose any great social pressure for governmental controls, and the high value placed upon individual freedom of action also worked to hold government at a minimum. If a Comanche had been invited to subscribe to a political slogan, he would have given his assent to the proposition that "that government is best which governs least." So fully was this precept expressed in a lack of political action that That's It, one of the most acute of our Comanche informants,

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

in Charley's home, though his son To-pet-chy's home was only a short distance away, on the east side of West Cache Creek. And though a Jesus Man (Christian), he belonged to a native Baptist church.

I am sure I felt a bit of intellectual awe in the presence of Charley Ross, and this was renewed at our meetings over the years. Here was a man, it must be remembered, who was born into a stone-age culture that was without knowledge of the smelting of iron or any other metal, and without the skill to forge tools from metal already smelted. From the viewpoint of the white people of that time, the Comanches were murderers, rapists, home-burners, kidnappers of women and children, horse thieves, cattle thieves, and all-round savages. History justifies this opinion, but there is this saving grace for the Comanche: he was here first. The white man was the invader. The empire of Comanchería had been forged and was in existence more than eighty-five years before George Washington became president of the United States. From the ruins of this empire came Charley Ross, who first found a way to enter the white man's world and then set about softening the impact between the two races that events decreed should live side by side. Mrs. Cato wrote in a letter to me, "My father was a very intelligent man, above the average, and so very much interested in higher education for his race of people and his own children. Even though he himself did not receive full benefit of complete education, he had the mind of a college graduate."

What a man accomplishes during his lifetime does not complete his true measurement. One must also judge how well he has projected himself into the next generation by adding the accomplishments of his children. Charley Ross's son-in-law, Mr. Cato, has told me that at the end of the 1965-66 school year Charley's children and grandchildren had completed forty-seven years of teaching. Others, not teachers, hold responsible positions with railroads, oil companies, and hospitals.

I have emphasized Charley Ross's pleasant manners and ready smile. But there was no servility about him, nor did he ever attempt to please everyone at the cost of any sacrifice of principle. He was a positive character about whom I never heard a derogatory word, either from whites, many of whom were always looking for a flaw or chink in his armor of friendliness, or from his tribesmen, who tended to distrust any Indian who earned the friendship of white people. He went about his self-appointed task of being a catalyst for the two races with good will and common sense.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

WHISKEY NIGHTS

ONLY BY A CONSIDERABLE SEARCH could anyone be found in all southwest Oklahoma Territory lower down on the social scale than the man who peddled whiskey to the Comanches. There were reasons for his low rating, even aside from the fact that the peddler was a breaker of both the United States law and the law of the territory of Oklahoma.

At the turn of the century, the Comanche warrior was only twenty-six years from his war trails. Many considered him a savage with only a superficial veneer of civilization; dangerous when sober, he was doubly feared when drinking.

Nor was it considered sporting to tempt him, as the average old Comanche's resistance was nil. The most cogent argument against selling the Comanche liquor was financial. A dollar spent by the average Comanche family man for liquor meant his family was denied its value in necessities.

The going price of a pint of cheap whiskey from the Comanche bootlegger was five dollars. This amount would supply a family of five with ample food for a week: a twenty-four-pound sack of flour, four pounds of dry salt bacon, two pounds of good coffee, eight pounds of sugar, ten pounds of good boiling beef (the Comanche seldom fried beef), seventy-five cents for dry onions and assorted

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224 The Comanche were nomad buffalo
hunters, constantly on the move, cultiva-
ting little from the ground, and living
• 181 in skin tipis. They were long noted as the
finest horsemen of the plains and bore a
(186) reputation for dash and courage. They
have a high sense of honor and hold
themselves superior to the other tribes
142 with which they are associated. In per-
son they are well built and rather corpu-
197 lent. Their language is the trade lan-
guage of the region and is more or less
understood by all the neighboring tribes.
[194] It is sonorous and flowing, its chief char-
acteristic being a rolling r. The lan-
guage has several dialects.

614 The gentile system seems to be unknown
among the Comanche. They have, or still
101 remember, 12 recognized divisions or bands
621 and may have had others in former times.
Of these all but 5 are practically extinct.
The Kwahari and Penateka are the most
[115] important. Following, in alphabetic or-
der, is the complete list as given by their
leading chiefs: Detsanayuka or Nokoni;
Ditsakana, Widyu, Yapa, or Yamparika;
Kewatsana; Kotsai; Kotsoteka; Kwahari
or Kwahadi; Motsai; Pagatsu; Penateka
or Penande; Pohoi (adopted Shoshoni);
Tanima; Tenawa or Tenahwit; Waaih.
101 In addition to these the following have
also been mentioned by writers as divi-
sions of the Comanche: Guagejohe, Mu-
vinabore, Nauniem, Parkeenaum. See
Dotame. (*J. M.*)

Allebome.—Lewis and Clark, Discov., 39, 1806 (so called by the French; see *Ne'-mo-sin*, below). **Bald Heads.**—Long, Exped. Rocky Mts., I, 155, 1823. **Be'dik'inago.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 (Kiowa name: 'reptile people', 'snake men'). **Cadouca.**—Domenech, Deserts N. Am., II, 160, 1860 (misprint of Padouca). **Camanche.**—Pike, Trav., xiv, 214, note, 1811. **Camanchees.**—Pilcher in Sen. Doc. 128, 25th Cong., 2d sess., 23, 1838. **Camarasches.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 367, 1822. **Ca'-tha.**—Hayden, Ethnog. and Philol. Mo. Val., 326, 1862 ('having many horses': Arapaho name). **Caumuches.**—La Harpe (1719) in Margry, Déc., VI, 289, 1886. **Causouche.**—Beauvais, ibid. **Caw-mainah.**—Gebow, Shoshonay Vocab., 8, 1868 (Shoshoni name). **Comanlos.**—Escalante (1776) misquoted by Harry in Simpson, Explor. across Utah, 495, 1876. **Cuta-sluka.**—Corliss, Dacotah MS. vocab., B. A. E., 106, 1874 (Teton name). **Comances.**—Schoolcraft, Pers. Mem., 620, 1851. **Comancha.**—Barreiro, Ojeada, app., 9, 1832. **Comanchees.**—Abert in Emory, Recon., 470, 1848. **Comancharo.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 56, 1844 (Spanish form). **Comanches.**—Sanchez (1757) in Doc. Hist. Mex., 4th s., I, 88, 1856. **Comanchos.**—Taylor in Cal. Farmer, Apr. 10, 1863. **Comandes.**—Maximilian, Trav., 510, 1843. **Comandus.**—Alegre, Hist. Comp. Jesus, I, 336, 1841. **Comanshima.**—Bourke, Mosquis of Ariz., 118, 1881 (Hopi name). **Comats.**—Gregg, Comm. Prairies, II, 51, 1844 (Comanche pronunciation). **Comauch.**—Morse, Rep. to Sec. War, 374, 1822 (misprint). **Cumanche.**—Doc. of 1720 quoted by Bandelier in Arch. Inst. Pap., V, 183, 1890. **Cumancias.**—Long, Exped. to Rocky Mts., I, 478, 1823. **Cumeches.**—Schermerhorn in Mass. Hist. Coll., II, 29, 1812. **Da'tsé-ar.**—Gatschet, MS., B. A. E. (Kiowa Apache name). **Gyai'-ko.**—Mooney in 14th Rep. B. A. E., 1043, 1896 ('enemies': Kiowa name). **Idahi.**—Ibid. (Kiowa Apache name). **Indé.**—Hodge, field notes, B. A. E., 1895 (Jicarilla name).

[p.328-A]

35: United States W-4 (no date) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

101

Federal Trust Area

659
161

Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1946.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

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For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

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648

Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

(657)